


2019 OCT -3 PM 2:10

**SUBMIT DIRECTLY TO THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC RECORDS IN 232 HART BUILDING**

Ongoing discussions between the Ethics Committee and the German Marshall Fund produced an updated document for inclusion in this disclosure

  
(Signature of Traveler)

# EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Date/Time Stamp:

**Pre-Travel Filing Instructions:** Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the **Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220**. Incomplete and late travel submissions will **not** be considered or approved. This form **must** be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at [ethics.senate.gov](http://ethics.senate.gov). Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Name of Traveler: Christopher Socha

Employing Office/Committee: Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF)

Travel date(s): June 27-30, 2019

*Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reason you **must** notify the Committee.*

Destination(s): Brussels, Belgium

Explain how this trip is specifically connected to the traveler's official or representational duties:

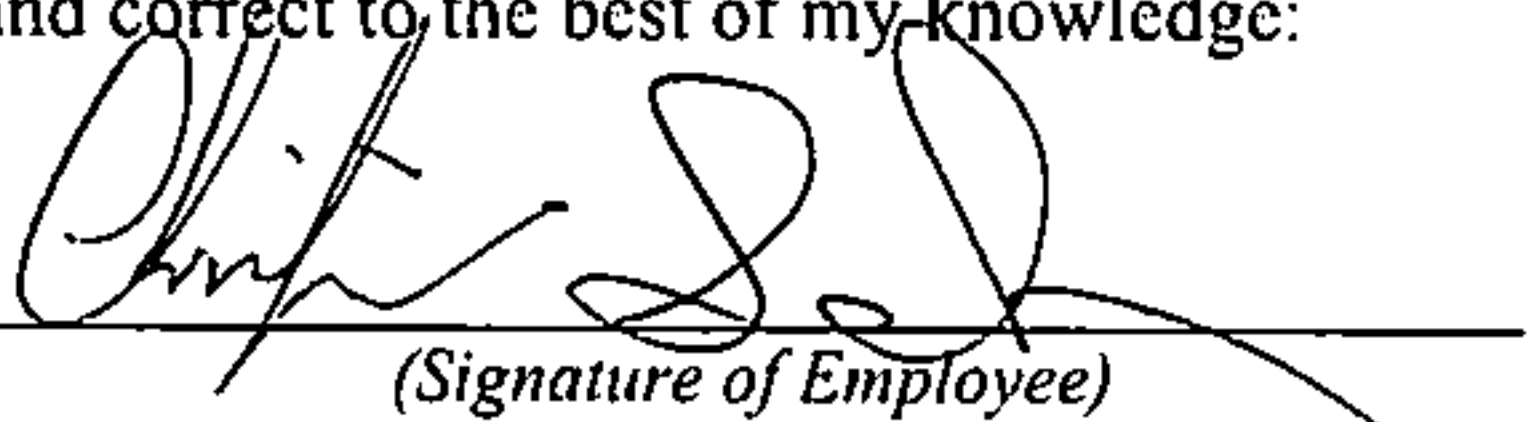
As Staff Director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Brussels Forum is a valuable venue to engage on transatlantic issues with governments and civil society from across Europe in a single forum. Information gathering will be useful in support the Senator's role as Chairman of the Committee and issues relevant to committee's consideration.

Name of accompanying family member (if any): \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship to Employee: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge:

10/3/19  
(Date)

  
(Signature of Employee)

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING SENATOR/OFFICER (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for the Minority, and Chaplain):

I, Senator James E. Risch hereby authorize Christopher Socha  
(Print Senator's/Officer's Name) (Print Traveler's Name)

an employee under my direct supervision, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to the event described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her duties as a Senate employee or an officeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for private gain.

I have also determined that the attendance of the employee's spouse or child is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate. (signify "yes" by checking box) ☐

10/03/2019  
(Date)

  
(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

## PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF)
2. Description of the trip: Brussels Forum is an annual high level conference that brings together influential political, corporate, and intellectual leaders to discuss pressing transatlantic issues.
3. Dates of travel: June 27, 2019-June 30, 2019
4. Place of travel: Brussels, Belgium
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Chris Socha, Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
  - ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
  - =OR=**
  - ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.

**=AND=**

☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
  - ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
  - =AND=**
  - ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).



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☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

**OR**

☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).

**=OR=**

**USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

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12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

The German Marshall Fund seeks to strengthen understanding and awareness between the U.S and Europe on shared issues and challenges. This conference brings together high-level individuals to discuss relevant transatlantic issues related to defense, trade, energy, and economic development.

GMF has organized and sponsored annual congressional study tours at both the Member and staff level on topics like foreign policy, trade, energy, and security for over 15 years. GMF most recently sponsored travel for Senate participants in July 2018 for the Transatlantic Technology Congressional Delegation.

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

GMF publishes policy briefs on a range of issues, convenes conferences that bring together leaders from a range of backgrounds, and provides experts to brief Congress.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate  <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	\$1000 (\$900 one-way economy class airfare/\$100 ground transportation from and to airport)	\$526	\$300	None

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

a) without regard to congressional participation

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

As the headquarters of the EU and NATO, Brussels provides a unique location to discuss the most pressing transatlantic issues.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

Steigenberger Wiltcher's Hotel, 71 Avenue Louise, 1050 Brussels, Belgium

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

The Steigenberger was chosen for its size and ability to provide the accommodations necessary to host the Brussels Forum. GMF has hosted Brussels Forum at the Steigenberger since 2006.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Brussels Forum participants receive the same meals and lodgings throughout the conference and all proceedings are in the Steigenberger, with the exception of off-site dinners. Lodging cost is over and food costs are under federal per diem rates.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Economy class one-way airfare will be provided. Ground transportation from and to the Brussels airport will be provided by minibuses for participants.

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor: 

Name and Title: Mr. Derek Chollet, Executive Vice President

Name of Organization: German Marshall Fund of the United States

Address: 1744 R St NW, Washington, DC 20009

Telephone Number: 202-683-2650

Fax Number: 202-265-1662

E-mail Address: dchollet@gmfus.org (please email congressionalaffairs@gmfus.org with questions)

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176



*All times are in Central European Time (CET) unless otherwise specified*

*Chris Socha departs for Brussels, Belgium, on United Airlines Flight 950.*

*Chris Socha arrives in Brussels, Belgium, on United Airlines Flight 950.*

**Mr. Mitch Landrieu, former Mayor of New Orleans**

**Moderator: Ms. Nina Dos Santos, Europe Editor, CNN**

## Brussels Forum Conversation: European Assertiveness in a Changing World







### Coffee Break

**16:30 – 17:00**

## Illicit Finance and Foreign Influence

*This session will focus on the use of money laundering, illicit finance, and dark money by foreign actors as tools of malign influence in the US and Europe. The focus will be on recent illicit financial activities from Russia as a case study of the tactics used by these actors.*

Introduction: **Mr. Joshua Kirschenbaum**, Senior Fellow, Alliance for Securing Democracy, GMF

**Mr. Jesper Berg, Danish Financial Supervisory Authority**

**17:00 – 17:30**

## Spotlight on Health Crises

*Ambassador Birx will focus on international health crises and US efforts to counter them. In addition to an overview of the broad US global health efforts, she will provide specific information on her work on AIDS reduction and prevention.*

**Amb. Deborah Birx, United States Global AIDS Coordinator**

**17:30 – 18:00**

### Coffee Break

**18:00-19:15**

## Oxford-Style Debate: The Transatlantic Relationship is Irreparably Damaged

*This session will debate whether the transatlantic relationship has sustained damage that can or cannot be reversed. Speakers will address the strains on the US-European partnership that could have irrevocable effects on defense cooperation, trade, and other areas of mutual concern.*

### Against the Motion:

**Dr. John Mearsheimer**, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

**Dr. Carla Norrlof, Professor, University of Toronto**

**For the Motion:**

**Dr. Constanze Stelzenmuller, Robert Bosch Senior Fellow, Brookings**

Moderator: **Mr. John Donovan**, Moderator, Intelligence Squared U.S.

**19:15 – 21:45**

## Break-Out Dinners

*All participants are invited to attend one of the 16 break-out dinner sessions.*

## 1. The EU and UK Coming Apart: Where Will Britain Fit? What Consequences for Europe and the US?

**Speakers:**

**Ms. Iverna McGowan, Director, McGowan & Associates**

**Dr. Luuk van Middelaar, Columnist, NRC Handelsblad**

**Moderator: Dr. Rosa Balfour, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, GMF**

## 2. Movement in the Balkans

**Speakers:**

**Ms. Sonja Licht, President, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence**

**Mr. Andrew McDowell, Vice-President, European Investment Bank**

**Moderator: Mr. Andrew Michta, Dean, Marshall Center**

### 3. The End of Convergence Between Europe's East and West?

**Speakers:**

**Mr. Ivan Krastev, Chairman, Centre for Liberal Strategies**

**Ms. Katarína Mathernová, Deputy Director-General, DG Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission**

**Moderator: Ambassador François Roux, Permanent Representative of Belgium to the European Union**

#### 4. Disinformation and Its Discontents

**Speakers:**

**Ambassador David O'Sullivan**, Special Advisor to the President of the European Commission for EU-U.S. relations

**Mr. William Perrin, Trustee, Indigo Trust**

**Ms. Nina Jankowicz, Global Fellow, The Wilson Center**

**Moderator: Ms. Karen Kornbluh**, Director, Digital Innovation and Democracy Initiative, GMF

## 5. Emerging Tech Challenges for Securing Democracy

**Speakers:**

**Ms. Merle Maigre, Executive Vice President, Government Relations, CybExer Technologies**

**Mr. Mike Morell, Senior Counselor, Beacon Global Strategies**

**Moderator: Ms. Lindsay Gorman, Fellow for Emerging Technologies, GMF**

## 6. Addressing the Security Dynamics in the Indo-Pacific

**Speakers:**

**Mr. Joseph Wu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China**

**Dr. Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation**

**Moderator: Mr. Steven Erlanger, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent for Europe, The New York Times**

## 7. Towards a Climate Neutral and Competitive Economy

**Speakers:**

**Mr. Nick Baird**, Director, Group Corporate, Centrica

**Ms. Cristina Borrero**, Head of Cabinet to Commissioner Arias Canete, European Commission

**Moderator: Mr. Peter Chase, Senior Fellow, GMF**

## 8. Conscious Cooperation – A New Transatlantic Approach to China

**Speakers:**

**Mr. Christian Leffler, Deputy Secretary General for Economic and Global Issues, European External Action Service**

**Professor Jennifer Anne Hillman, Professor of Law, Georgetown Law Center**

**Moderator: Ms. Janka Örtel, Fellow, GMF**

## 9. Turkey in the Middle East

**Speakers:**

**Mr. Galip Dalay, Director of Research, Al Sharq Forum**

**Dr. Dania Khatib, Executive Director, Al Istishari Center for Economic and Future Studies**

**Moderator: Ms. Kristina Kausch, Senior Resident Fellow, GMF**

## 10. Does Europe Need a Common "Army"?

**Speakers:**

**Mr. Roland Freudenstein**, Policy Director, Martens Centre  
**Mr. Tomas Valasek**, Director, Carnegie Europe

#### 11. Transatlantic Relations – What's Next?

Speakers:

**Rt. Hon. Baroness Catherine Ashton**, Chancellor, Chair, Global Europe, Woodrow Wilson Center

**Mr. Charles Dent**, Senior Policy Advisor, DLA Piper

**Mr. Eckart von Klaeden**, Vice President and Head of External Affairs, Daimler AG

Moderator: **Professor William Burke-White**, Director, Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania

#### 12. Preserving Multilateralism

Speaker:

**Mr. Henry Ristuccia**, Managing Partner, Policy & Government Relations Leader, Deloitte

Moderator: **Ambassador Daniel Costello**, Ambassador of Canada to the European Union

#### 13. A New Nuclear Age: What Will it Mean for Security and Strategy?

Speakers:

**The Hon. Rose Gottemoeller**, Deputy Secretary General, NATO

**Mr. Steve Covington**, Adviser, NATO

Moderator: **Mr. Sigurd Schelstraete**, Director of Non-Proliferation, Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

#### 14. Dealing with Iran

Speakers:

**Mr. Yoaz Hendel**, Member, Knesset

**Ambassador Wendy Sherman**, Senior Counselor, Albright Stonebridge Group

Moderator: **Guillaume Xavier Bender**, Visiting Fellow, GMF

#### 15. NATO Looks South: What Challenges, What Strategy

Speakers:

**Dr. Christopher Chivvis**, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation

**Ambassador Alejandro Alvargonzález**, Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO

Moderator: **Dr. Ian Lesser**, Vice President, GMF

#### 16. The EU's Energy Security Risks

Speaker:

**Mr. Norbert Röttgen**, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Bundestag

Moderator: **Ms. Kristine Berzina**, Senior Fellow, GMF

#### 22:00 – 23:45

**Night Owls** (Sessions are concurrent. All participants must attend one of the following sessions.)

##### **#3: Breakthrough or Bonkers? – Defining the European Interest**

*This session will focus on Europe's global interests in relation to individual countries as well as the EU.*

*Speakers will examine European interests and goals within the global community and the motivating factors behind these interests and goals.*

**Mr. Luuk van Middelaer**, Professor, University of Leiden

**The Hon. Tomas Petricek**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

**Amb. Philip Reeker**, U.S. European Command

**Ms. Marietje Schaake**, Member, European Parliament

Moderator: **Dr. Jan Techau**, Director, Europe Program, GMF



#### **#4: Political Movements and the New Social Contract**

*This session will focus on the political movements advocating for a shift in the social contracts that define the relationship between the government and the governed. The session will also attempt to identify the roots and the scope of the current wave of social unrests, and the rise of these political movements.*

**The Hon. Sigrid Kaag**, Minister for Trade and International Development, the Netherlands

**Mr. Tilman Tacke, Associate Partner, McKinsey Global Institute**

**Dr. Yascha Mounk, Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States**

## #5: Brussels Forum Salon: Imagining the Future- How Fiction can Help Understand the Future

*This session will focus on how fiction can be used to illuminate how society and culture could evolve and change.' Speakers will explain how fiction can illustrate anxieties and trends in contemporary international politics in accessible terms.*

**Ms. Laura Blumenfeld**, Senior Fellow, School of Advanced International Studies Europe

**Mr. Alexandros Yannis, Author and Writer**

**Moderator: Dr. Rosa Balfour, Senior Fellow, GMF**

Saturday, June 29

**8:15 – 9:15**

## **Brussels Forum Breakfast: Will America be back?**

*This session will focus on US leadership in the global community and its relations with international and multilateral institutions. Speakers will give their views on the role that the US should play in addressing global challenges and upholding its international commitments.*

**Ms. Danielle Pletka, American Enterprise Institute**

**Moderator: Ms. Margaret Carlson, Columnist, The Daily Beast**

**9:30 – 10:00**

## Brussels Forum Simulation: Cyber Security

*This session will focus simulating a cybersecurity threat and the processes and procedures for countering or eliminating that threat. Speakers will address the implications and effects of cyber threats and potential responses to these threats.*

**The Hon. Anthony Brown**, Member, U.S. House of Representatives

**Mr. Eckart von Klaeden, Head of External Affairs, Daimler AG**

**Moderator: Ms. Diana Kelley, Cybersecurity Field CTO, Microsoft**

**10:00 – 11:00**

### A Conversation:

*Senator Murphy and Foreign Minister Reynders will discuss the role that the US Congress and national governments play in ensuring effective transatlantic cooperation on current and future challenges. They will particularly examine the need to reform multilateral institutions to ensure effectiveness.*

**The Hon. Chris Murphy, Member, U.S. Senate**

**The Hon. Didier Reynders**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, Belgium



**11:00 – 11:30**

*Coffee Break*

**11:30 – 12:45**

**Main Session #7: AI: Beyond Privacy and Ethics**

*This session will focus on the political, social, and economic issues stemming from the development of increasingly autonomous artificial intelligence. Speakers will address the need to create regulations that are adaptable enough to keep pace with emerging technologies without stifling innovation.*

Introduction: **Amb. Karen Kornbluh**, Senior Fellow and Director, Digital Innovation Democracy Initiative, GMF

**The Hon. Suzan Delbene**, Member, U.S. House of Representatives

**Ms. Gry Hasselbalch**, Co-founder, DataEthics.eu

Moderator: **Ms. Kara Swisher**, Co-founder, Recode

**12:45 – 13:00**

**Conference Wrap-Up**

*Dr. Donfried will summarize the Forum and provide closing thoughts. She will highlight the themes and issues which were most prevalent throughout the conference.*

**Dr. Karen Donfried**, President, GMF

**13:00 – 15:00**

**Working Lunch with GMF Directors**

*GMF Directors will host a working lunch focused on recent developments in Europe at both the country and EU levels. Speakers will provide their on-the-ground insight into the people and institutions impacting European politics and societies.*

**Reta Jo Lewis**, Congressional Affairs Director, GMF

**Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff**, Vice President & Berlin Office Director, GMF

**Ian Lesser**, Foreign Policy Vice President & Brussels Office Director, GMF

**15:00 – 19:00**

*This time is for participants to conduct one-on-one meetings. Conference speakers and other participants will engage in in-depth bilateral meetings related to pertinent transatlantic policy areas such as defense, trade, energy security, and other related issues.*

**Sunday, June 30**

**9:00**

*Chris Socha departs privately sponsored travel.*